

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 149266

51

ORIGIN SS-25

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APPROVED BY S/S - SRGAMMON

NEA -RPDAVIES S-MR. BREMER

NEA - JJSISCO

NEA/ARP - BWRAMPPELMEIER (DRAFT)

EUR/SOV - WJWILKINSON (DRAFT)

NEA/EGY - MSTERNER (DRAFT)

NEA/PAB - JHOLMES (DRAFT)

NEA/ARN - EDJEREJIAN(DRAFT)

EA/K - MR. FINCH (DRAFT)

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

INFO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

USINT CAIRO

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

S E C R E T STATE 149266

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: PFOR, IR, IN, SA, KN, KS, LE

SUBJ: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH THE SHAH

1. THE SECRETARY MET WITH THE SHAH AT BLAIR HOUSE THE
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 149266

AFTERNOON OF JULY 24. ALSO PRESENT WERE IRANIAN FOREIGN
MINISTER KHALATBARI, IRANIAN AMBASSADOR ZAHEDI, ASSISTANT
SECRETARY SISCO, AMBASSADOR HELMS, AND COUNTRY DIRECTOR
MIKLOS.

2. THE SHAH OPENED BY SAYING THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WERE SO GOOD AND THINGS WERE GOING SO SMOOTHLY THERE WAS REALLY NOTHING WE HAD TO TAKE UP BETWEEN US. NEVERTHELESS HE WELCOMED THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH THE SECRETARY ON REGIONAL AND WORLD AFFAIRS.

3. THE SECRETARY, REFERRING TO A CONVERSATION HE HAD WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KHALATBARI EARLIER IN THE DAY, COMMENTED THAT THE NEWS ABOUT SAUDI ARABIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD FURTHER COOPERATION WITH IRAN WAS NOT TOO ENCOURAGING. THE SHAH REPLIED THAT HE HAD EXPECTED THIS OF KING FAISAL WHO IS A LITTLE OUT OF TOUCH WITH THINGS. HE SAID THAT THERE ARE OTHER ELEMENTS IN SAUDI ARABIA THAT IRAN COULD WORK WITH, HOWEVER, AND THAT HE INTENDED TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO COOPERATE WITH SAUDI ARABIA. THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT FAISAL WAS CONCERNED ABOUT GROWING IRANIAN STRENGTH ALTHOUGH HE ALSO KNEW IT WAS IMPORTANT. THE SHAH REPLIED THAT FAISAL MUST KNOW THAT HE WISHED HIM AND HIS COUNTRY GOOD AND NOTHING ELSE.

4. THE SHAH THEN TURNED TO THE QUESTION OF AFGHANISTAN AND COMMENTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD HAD AN EASY TIME OF IT THERE. HE SAID THAT APPARENTLY THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT A MORE NEUTRAL AFGHANISTAN AND IMPLIED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE IN SOME WAY INVOLVED IN THE RECENT COUP BY NOTING THAT IT WAS CARRIED OUT BY 50 OFFICERS ALL OF WHOM WERE SOVIET-TRAINED. HE SAID THAT IF THE SOVIETS WANT TO BUILD ON THIS BY CREATING DIFFICULTIES IN PUSHTUNISTAN AND SHOULD TRY TO EXTEND THEIR INFLUENCE DOWN TO THE INDIAN OCEAN, THEN THAT WAS "ANOTHER THING."

5. MOVING ON TO THE QUESTION OF U.S.-SOVIET DETENTE THE SHAH SAID HE THOUGHT OUR POLICY WAS SENSIBLE AND HE WELCOMED IT. HE CAUTIONED, HOWEVER, THAT ONE MUST QUESTION WHETHER THE SOVIETS ARE BEING SO AGREEABLE
SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 149266

BECAUSE THEY WISH A FREE HAND TO MAKE TROUBLE ELSEWHERE OR WHETHER THEY ARE MOTIVATED PRIMARILY BY THEIR CONCERNS ABOUT CHINA. FOR HIS PART, HE SAID, HE CANNOT AFFORD TO TAKE CHANCES, IRAN MUST BE STRONG MILITARILY, SOCIALLY AND ECONOMICALLY. THE PEOPLE, BOTH WORKERS AND PEASANTS, MUST HAVE A STAKE IN THE COUNTRY AND ITS FUTURE. THAT IS WHY HE HAS LAWS WHICH PROVIDE FOR WORKERS TO BUY SHARES IN INDUSTRY AND, IF THEY DO NOT TAKE ALL OF THE SHARES OFFERED, THEY ARE MADE AVAILABLE TO SMALL LAND-OWNERS. HE SAID THAT HE TOLD THE SOVIETS WHEN THEY ASKED ABOUT IRAN'S MILITARY BUILDUP THAT HE HAD THE SAME RIGHTS AS THEY OR ANY INDEPENDENT COUNTRY TO DO WHAT HE FELT WAS NECESSARY TO PROVIDE FOR HIS OWN SECURITY. HE SAID

"I TOLD THEM THAT THEY SHOULD NOT CONSIDER US JUST ANOTHER MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRY. THEY MUST KNOW THAT WE CAN DESTROY ANY ONE OF THEIR SATELLITES." HE HASTENED TO ADD THAT IRAN WOULD NOT DO THIS, BUT THE FACT THAT EVERYONE KNOWS IT CAN IS THE BEST POSSIBLE DETERRENT TO ANY FOOLISHNESS ON THEIR PART.

6. THE SECRETARY SAID THERE WERE OTHER THINGS TO CONSIDER ABOUT THE SOVIETS. THEY HAVE PROBLEMS IN THE FACT THAT SOME OF THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ARE DOING BETTER THAN THEY, AND THIS IS AN UNCOMFORTABLE EXAMPLE FOR SOVIET LEADERS. THEY NEED TECHNOLOGY BECAUSE CLEARLY THE U.S. AND OTHER COUNTRIES ARE WELL IN ADVANCE OF THE USSR. THEY NEED TO DO BETTER IN IMPROVING THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT HE FELT THAT IT WAS FOR THESE REASONS THAT THE SOVIETS HAD MADE A POLICY DECISION TO TRY TO GET ALONG WITH US. HAVING SAID THIS, HOWEVER, HE DID NOT WANT TO DISCOUNT THE FACT THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE AND WILL CONTINUE TO LOOK FOR TARGETS OF OPPORTUNITY OR WEAKNESS TO EXPLOIT WHEN THEY CAN. THUS WE AGREE WITH THE SHAH THAT IT IS STILL A MATTER OF GREAT IMPORTANCE THAT IRAN BE STRONG BECAUSE OTHER COUNTRIES IN HIS AREA CANNOT STAND ALONE. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT AS OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS DEVELOP WE HAVE TO BE CAUTIOUS ABOUT THE NATURE AND THE TERMS OF OUR EXCHANGE SO THAT WE DO NOT FIND THAT WE ARE GIVING THEM ADVANTAGES WITHOUT RECEIVING ANYTHING IN RETURN. IN OTHER WORDS, DEVELOP-
SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 149266

MENT OF A BETTER RELATIONSHIP IS A TWO-WAY STREET.

7. IN COMMENTING ON ANOTHER ASPECT OF SOVIET BEHAVIOR AND HOW IT ILLUSTRATES THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NOT NECESSARILY OMNIPOTENT, THE SECRETARY REFERRED TO THE RECENT CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE HELD IN HELSINKI. HE SAID THAT PRIOR TO THE MEETING SOME PEOPLE HAD BEEN WORRIED THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD BE ABLE TO CAPITALIZE ON IT, BUT THIS DID NOT PROVE TO BE THE CASE. THERE WAS A FRIENDLY DEBATE AMONG THE WESTERN COUNTRIES, AND THE U.S. MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WAS PREPARED TO SEE THE MEETING FAIL IF THE SOVIETS DIDN'T COOPERATE. HE THOUGHT THIS MADE THE SOVIETS UNCOMFORTABLE AND THAT THEY WERE IN A WEAKER POSITION BECAUSE THEIRS IS A CLOSED SOCIETY. AS THE SOVIETS ARE EXPOSED INCREASINGLY TO THE FREE WORLD AND HOW IT OPERATES, THE SECRETARY SAID HE FEELS THIS WILL HAVE A SALUTARY EFFECT AND THAT THE SOVIETS WILL COME TO UNDERSTAND THE NECESSITY IF NOT THE DESIRABILITY OF FRIENDLIER DEBATE AND INTERCOURSE.

8. THE SHAH AGREED THAT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF POSITIVE

ASPECTS TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND ONE COULD BE RE-ASSURED ABOUT SOME OF THE THINGS THAT WERE EVIDENT IN EUROPE. THE FRENCH WERE BASICALLY WORRIED ABOUT THE U.S. LEAVING EUROPE, THE SOVIETS CAN'T FOOL THE GERMANS, AND THE BRITISH UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION VERY WELL, ALTHOUGH ONE WONDERS ABOUT THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES AND ITALY. HE NOTED IN PASSING THAT THE ITALIANS WANTED TO COME TO IRAN AND HE WILL SEE THEM IN THE FALL.

9. HE SAID THAT, IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE PRESIDENT EARLIER IN THE DAY, HE HAD DISCUSSED THE IDEA OF A GAS PIPELINE TO TURKEY WITH THE LIQUIFICATION PLANT THERE OR POSSIBLY A LINE THAT EXTENDS ALL THE WAY TO EUROPE. HE SAID THAT THIS COULD MOVE 40 BILLION CUBIC METERS OF GAS TO EUROPE. THIS IS NOT NEGLIGIBLE. EVEN IF IT MEETS ONLY ONE-QUARTER OF EUROPE'S NEEDS, IT WILL GIVE EUROPE A VESTED INTEREST IN STABILITY LINKED WITH IRAN AND ITS PART OF THE WORLD GENERALLY. THE SECRETARY AGREED THAT THIS COULD BE AN IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT AND
SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 149266

TIE. COMING BACK TO REGIONAL AFFAIRS THE SHAH SAID HE CONTINUES TO WONDER WHY THE SOVIETS SEEM TO WANT TO CREATE A VACUUM IN THE MIDDLE EAST (PRESUMABLY REFERRING TO SOVIET QUESTIONING OF IRAN'S MILITARY BUILDUP FOLLOWING BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM THE PERSIAN GULF.) HE ASKED RHETORICALLY, WHY ARE THEY BEEFING UP FAVORED NEIGHBORS AND COMMENTED THAT IRAN CAN'T TAKE CHANCES, PARTICULARLY AFTER AFGHANISTAN. HE SAID HE TOLD INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SWARAN SINGH THAT IRAN WOULD NOT ENCOURAGE PAKISTAN AGAINST INDIA BUT ON THE OTHER HAND HE COULD NOT TOLERATE THE FURTHER DISMEMBERMENT OF PAKISTAN. HE SAID INDIA WILL HAVE TO ACCEPT IRAN AS IT IS. IRAN CAN COOPERATE WITH INDIA IN MANY CONSTRUCTIVE WAYS. FOR EXAMPLE, EXPANSION OF THE INDIAN-IRANIAN REFINERY AT MADRAS. HE ADDED THAT THE INDIANS HAVE GOT TO "SHUT UP" AND STOP PREACHING TO US. THEY HAVE A DEPLORABLE HABIT OF MORALIZING TO THE REST OF THE WORLD.

10. HE SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAD ALSO TRIED TO PREACH TO HIM IN MUCH THE SAME WAY AND HE HAD TOLD THEM THE SAME THING. HE SAID HE DID NOT THINK THE SOVIETS WILL REALLY TAKE ANY OVERTLY AGGRESSIVE STEPS BECAUSE THEY KNOW THIS WILL INVOLVE THE REST OF THE WORLD. THERE IS THE DANGER OF SUBVERSION, HOWEVER. THEREFORE, IRAN IS FIRM IN ITS CONCLUSION THAT IT MUST BE STRONG ENOUGH TO TAKE CARE OF IRAQ OR ANYBODY ELSE IN A FEW HOURS BECAUSE IT CANNOT SIT AROUND AND WAIT FOR THE DISPUTE TO GET INTO THE UN WHERE IT WOULD BE DEBATED INTERMINABLY.

11. MR. SISCO SAID THAT WE HAD TALKED WITH THE FRENCH RECENTLY AND THEY FELT THAT THERE WAS SOME EVIDENCE THAT

IRAQ IS TRYING TO PUT SOME LIGHT BETWEEN THEMSELVES
AND THE SOVIETS. HE ASKED FOR THE SHAH'S COMMENTS. THE
SHAH APPEARED SKEPTICAL BY ASKING WHAT ABOUT THE BAATH AND
THE COMMUNISTS GETTING TOGETHER AND WHAT ABOUT BAGHDAD
TRYING TO GET THE KURDS INTO SOME SORT OF COALITION. HE
SAID, "WE ARE PREVENTING THIS AT THE MOMENT." NEVERTHE-
LESS, HE DOES NOT WANT TO CLOSE THE DOOR TO IRAQ AND IS
WILLING TO GIVE IT THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT. LET THEM
THROW OUT THE SOVIETS IF THEY CAN, BUT HE IS DUBIOUS.
ALSO,

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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